

Johnson's Trigger-Happy Aggression Brings U.S. to New Brink in Vietnam

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DeBerry Condemns Attack on N. Vietnam

Clifton DeBerry, 1964 presidential candidate of the Socialist Workers Party, issued a statement Feb. 9 assailing President Johnson for the recent bomb attacks on North Vietnam. The statement declared:

Johnson's reckless, bullying order to bomb areas of North Vietnam makes it clear that the great majority of the American people were cruelly deceived last November when they were led to believe they were voting for a responsible man of peace as opposed to a trigger-happy warmonger. The bombings show that Johnson's peace posture was deliberate demagogic and that he is, in fact, as trigger-happy as Goldwater.

The basic similarity of Johnson's approach to foreign policy was rather gleefully noted by Goldwater himself after Johnson's equally criminal order to bomb areas of Laos. Goldwater declared last Jan. 22: "He is now doing what I advocated doing by bombing the supply routes [to the guerrillas] in South Vietnam. If there is anything else he wants to do, I'll be glad to advise him."

Nor is it just a matter of Johnson and Goldwater sharing the same basic foreign-policy outlook. The parties that both men speak for also backed the piratical attack on North Vietnam and have given unstinting bi-partisan support to Johnson during the present events. This is because both the Democrats and Republicans are fully committed to the reactionary aim of trying to preserve the world capitalist system by trying to roll back with any means at their disposal the rising colonial and socialist revolutions.

It is urgent that the American people — in the interests of justice and peace — demonstrate opposition to Johnson's criminal course and do everything they can to bring it to a halt before it's too late.

Doing so is admittedly difficult because there is as yet no strong popular voice to crystallize such sentiment. The trade-union and civil-rights officialdom are either silent or applauding Johnson's action. The liberals, for the most part, are engaged in a shameful effort to whitewash the bombings as a cunning maneuver to pave the way for negotiations on Vietnam. Even if this were true, it could only be characterized as a bloody and insanely risky form of "diplomacy."

So far, only the left-wing press has spoken out against Johnson's course. But here, too, there is a weakness since a large part of the radical press is discredited on the issue because they supported Johnson in November as the "responsible," "pro-peace" alternative to Goldwater. The present denunciations of Johnson by the publications that so supported him can at best leave their readers with mixed and confused sentiments.

It is imperative that the American people come to understand what is really involved in the U.S. aggression in Vietnam. Just as the great majority of the people throughout the world now recognize Washington's role as a thoroughly reactionary and destructive one, so the people of this country must awaken to the realization that if we are to escape atomic destruction, it is necessary to speak out before it's too late.



Clifton DeBerry

By Fred Halstead

FEB. 10 — By ordering the bombings of North Vietnam Feb. 7 and 8, President Johnson committed an act of brutal aggression and brought the world to the brink of war. Johnson has taken an extremely risky gamble, with the possibility of escalation to nuclear war, in this bloody attempt to salvage the U.S. adventure in South Vietnam from certain military and political defeat by the South Vietnamese people.

The air strikes were ordered because the U.S. forces in South Vietnam are losing the war to the guerrillas there. They can't retaliate effectively against guerrilla attacks because of the anti-U.S., pro-rebel attitude of the general population. As a substitute, the U.S. has "retaliated" by an act of war against North Vietnam, a country with which it is formally at peace.

This places the U.S. in the position of moral outlaw by its own most loudly-trumpeted standard. The U.S. has long claimed that the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor was an infamous and criminal violation of international law because formally the two countries were at peace — as is the present case with the U.S. and North Vietnam.

The attack on North Vietnam is a flagrant violation of international law, of the United Nations Charter and of the Geneva accords on Vietnam. U.S. officials pretend to explain this away by implying that the guerrilla attack on the U.S. helicopter base at Pleiku in South Vietnam was staged from North Vietnam or by "infiltrators" from North Vietnam, using weapons from North Vietnam. The U.S. bombings, it is claimed, were of North Vietnam.



Johnson

bases from which the Pleiku attack was staged.

An example of the deceitful way this general impression is conveyed to the American people — though no evidence whatever is cited to support it — was the nationally televised Feb. 7 press conference of Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara.

While McNamara spoke, he pointed to a large map of Vietnam, on which arrows were drawn running from the U.S.-bombed points in North Vietnam to Pleiku and other points in South Vietnam where guerrilla attacks had been reported. Though McNamara never explained these arrows, nor cited a single piece of evidence, the false visual impression was given that these guerrilla attacks had

actually originated at the North Vietnamese points from which the arrows were drawn.

Aside from such cheap trickery, the implication is supported only by the official statement that U.S. "intelligence" showed that the North Vietnamese points were used for infiltrating guerrillas into South Vietnam and that such infiltration has "doubled" in the last year. No details or proof are given.

It is notorious that U.S. intelligence reports on South Vietnam are manufactured out of whole cloth for propaganda purposes and have nothing to do with reality. For example, *I. F. Stone's Weekly* of Feb. 8 points out that Central Intelligence Agency Director McCone told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee Jan. 26 that there did not appear to be any immediate danger of another coup in Saigon. Within a few hours after McCone's report another coup occurred. U.S. "intelligence" doesn't even know, or doesn't report the truth about, what is going on among its own puppets in Saigon, let alone among the guerrillas.

The details of the Pleiku attack itself are further proof that U.S. intelligence in South Vietnam is worse than useless. These details also show that the population supports the guerrillas and is completely hostile to the American presence.

The U.S. base near Pleiku, Camp Holloway, is surrounded by two aprons of barbed wire, supposedly friendly South Vietnamese troops, and other defenses for a depth of two and a half miles. Yet the guerrillas — between 100 and 200 men by U.S. estimates — were able to penetrate all these

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D.C. MARCH TO PROTEST VIETNAM WAR

Feb. 9 — Plans for a student March on Washington to protest the war in Vietnam are taking shape. The demonstration is scheduled for Saturday, April 17, and will begin with a picket line at the White House.

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), who are organizing the march, issued their official call yesterday, urging "the participation of all students who agree with us that the war in Vietnam injures both Vietnamese and Americans, and should be stopped."

Jack Barnes, national chairman of the Young Socialist Alliance, reiterated the YSA's support of the march, and said, "The recent air attacks against North Vietnam by the U.S. graphically demonstrate the danger to the world inherent in the U.S. war in South Vietnam. The dirty war of atrocity the U.S. government is conducting against the people of South Vietnam must be opposed and stopped, and U.S. troops withdrawn. Every young person who is for peace, self-determination and democracy in Vietnam should work to build the SDS March on Washington into the largest possible protest."

The SDS call says, "The current war in Vietnam is being waged in behalf of a succession of unpopular South Vietnamese dictatorships, not in behalf of freedom. No American-supported South Vietnamese regime in the past few years has gained the support of its people, for the simple reason that the people overwhelmingly want peace, self-determination, and the opportunity for development. American prosecution of the war has deprived them of all three.

"The war is fundamentally a civil war, waged by South Viet-

nam against their government; it is not a 'war of aggression.' Military assistance from North Vietnam and China has been minimal; most guerrilla weapons are homemade or are captured American arms. The areas of strongest guerrilla control are not the areas adjacent to North Vietnam. And the people could not and cannot be isolated from the guerrillas by forced settlement in 'strategic hamlets'; again and again Government military attacks fail because the people tip off the guerrillas; the people and the guerrillas are inseparable . . ."

Troops Defect

The call goes on to point out that the war is a losing war. "Well over half of the area of South Vietnam is already governed by the National Liberation Front . . . Thousands of Government troops have defected — the traditional signal of a losing counter-guerrilla war. HOW MANY MORE LIVES MUST BE LOST BEFORE THE JOHNSON ADMINISTRATION ACCEPTS THE FOREGONE CONCLUSIONS? . . .

"It is a war never declared by Congress, although it costs almost \$2 million a day and has cost billions of dollars . . . We are outraged that \$2 million a day is expended for a war on the poor in Vietnam, while government financing is so desperately needed to abolish poverty at home. WHAT KIND OF AMERICA IS IT WHOSE RESPONSE TO POVERTY AND OPPRESSION IN SOUTH VIETNAM IS NAPALM AND DEFOLIATION? WHOSE RESPONSE TO POVERTY AND OPPRESSION IN MISSISSIPPI IS — SILENCE?

"It is a hideously immoral war.

America is committing pointless murder."

For more information on the March write: Students for a Democratic Society, 119 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10003.

Student Protesters Attacked in Ohio

KENT, Ohio, Feb. 10 — Despite abuse and roughing-up by right-wing-instigated students, members of the Kent University Young Socialist Alliance held a scheduled campus demonstration yesterday protesting U.S. aggression in North Vietnam. The attacks on the demonstrators, which took place while campus police stood by, has been condemned by student leaders.

The small group of pickets were set upon by some 150 to 200 students who hurled their leaflets back in their faces, snatched and burned their picket signs and kicked and shoved them. Two campus policemen and the campus security officer refused to intervene even after one of the pickets, Barbara Brock, was kicked in the face.

The attack on the pickets was condemned as a violation of constitutional rights by Craig Stephens, president of the Student Senate, and Anthony Walsh, a student senator.

THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

Five non-operating railway unions representing 290,000 workers have agreed to a contract with some 200 railroads and terminal and switching companies. This is the fifteenth agreement in the rail industry since last spring. The 15 agreements cover more than 90 per cent of the railroad workers in the U.S.

As in the previous settlements, the non-operating unions accepted an "attrition principle," which, in effect, gives companies the right to proceed with drastic job-cutting. The final snag in negotiations was a flexibility clause allowing companies to transfer workers from one area to another to fill jobs. The unions acceded this right to the companies.

The "attrition principle" in brief, allows the railroads to abolish a number of jobs equal to the number of workers who quit, die or retire, or are discharged for just cause. It purportedly limits the reduction in the work force to 6% a year which is, however, at least 1% more than the "normal" attrition rate.

No wage increases were negotiated, nor did union leaders at any time raise the question of a shorter work week with no loss in pay as the only meaningful answer to "attrition," that is, lost jobs.

The Jackass Flats underground nuclear-test site in Nevada exploded a low-yield shot Feb. 3, while most of the site's 5,000 workers were out on strike protesting unsafe working conditions.

One of the workers' grievances charged "bad air and poor ventilation" in one of the tunnels. Of



Emil Mazey

far greater concern is the death of four workers since last September. Drilling ever-deeper holes in which nuclear devices are exploded has been going on a round-the-clock basis.

United Auto Workers funds were invested in a bank that failed last month. The San Francisco National Bank was closed Jan. 22 by a federal agency on the grounds that it was "substantially insolvent." The UAW held certificates of deposit for \$3,000,000 in the bank. A maximum of \$10,000 of this amount is federally insured. Just how much the union will recover is not known. The bank's assets will probably be divided among the regular depositors and what is left distributed proportionately to the 271 holders of the certificates of deposit who are considered to be general creditors of the bank if they were getting interest rates over the regular deposit rate.

UAW Secretary-Treasurer Emil Mazey has accepted full responsibility for the investment. "Hindsight indicates that we should not have entered into this transaction," he said.

In a Feb. 5 letter demanding a congressional investigation of the bank's closing, Mazey said: "There have been relatively few bank failures since the 1930's. But the figure is on the increase. I have been advised that there have been eleven bank failures in the past 18 months. I do not believe that the tragedy of the San Francisco National Bank is an isolated instance. I think it represents a danger signal. True, the establishment of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, the functioning of the office of the Comptroller of the Currency, and the Federal Reserve Board have given the public a sense of security in the operation of national banks. It now appears that this may be a false sense of security."

Thanks in part to the federal government, the Florida East Coast Railway turned a tidy profit in 1964 despite the fact that eleven off-train unions have been on strike against the company for two years. The scab railroad credited a large part of its more than \$2 million profits to freight hauled to the government-owned missile site at Cape Kennedy.

Weekly Calendar

BOSTON

CRISIS IN VIETNAM — Analysis by George Saunders, staff writer, *The Militant*. Fri., Feb. 19, 8 p.m. 295 Huntington Ave., Rm. 307 (one block from Mass. Ave.) Contrib. 50c. Ausp. *Militant Labor Forum*.

CHICAGO

NEGRO LEADERS OF OUR TIME. A discussion by three participants in the Freedom Now struggle. Fri., Feb. 19, 8 p.m. 302 S. Canal St. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

DETROIT

MARXISM AND EXISTENTIALISM — Are the Two Compatible? Speaker, William F. Warde. Fri., Feb. 19, 8 p.m. 3737 Woodward. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

The Development of Democracy from the Ancient Greeks to the Present — a socialist seminar weekend of lectures by William F. Warde. Sat. & Sun., Feb. 20 & 21, 11 a.m. 3737 Woodward. Ausp. Young Socialist Alliance.

LOS ANGELES

75TH BIRTHDAY CELEBRATION honoring ROSE KARSNER and JAMES P. CANNON, founders of the American Trotskyist movement; world renowned international socialists. Fri., Feb. 19, 8:30 p.m. 1702 E. Fourth St. Ausp. *Militant Labor Forum*.

MINNEAPOLIS

THE STEELWORKERS' FIGHT FOR WAGES AND UNION DEMOCRACY. Speaker, Joseph Johnson, Twin Cities Organizer, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Feb. 19, 8:30 p.m. 704 Hennepin Ave. Hall 240. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

NEW YORK

TWO CASUALTIES IN THE "WAR" ON POVERTY. Reporters: MAJOR WILLIAMS, Director of Community Council on Housing, arrested and clubbed by Harlem police; LEROY McRAE, Lower East Side social worker under fire for his socialist ideas. Fri., Feb. 19, 8:30 p.m., 116 University Pl. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. *Militant Labor Forum*.

Whitmore Confession Was Spotted As Fake at Time It Was Announced

By Harry Ring

[The following are excerpts from a news commentary delivered over WBAI-FM in New York Feb. 11.]

Last April, when the police announced that George Whitmore, a 19-year-old Negro, had confessed to the slaying the year before of Janice Wylie and Emily Hoffert, people breathed a sigh of relief in New York's upper East Side area where the two girls had been brutally murdered. But those who had felt anxious about the killer being at large still have no real guarantee that he's not.

Whitmore has been exonerated of the crime and another young man, Richard Robles, has now been charged with it. But Robles — like Whitmore — insists he's innocent.

Right now there isn't too much information available as to what kind of a case the police have against Robles. But a great deal of information has come to light about the case of George Whitmore. And the facts that have come out are truly shocking. Put into a single piece, they constitute a damning indictment of the entire police system in New York and — in my opinion — shed a lot of light on how the police operate in all our major cities.

Let me summarize the key facts of the case. During the early morning hours of last April 23, a Mrs. Elba Borrero was the victim of an attempted rape in Brooklyn. She succeeded in beating off her assailant who then became the target of a police hunt.

That afternoon, George Whitmore was picked up on the streets of the Brooklyn neighborhood to which he had moved from his hometown of Wildwood, New Jersey.

After holding him for 24 hours, the authorities announced that young Whitmore had confessed to the attempted rape and had been identified by the victim as her assailant.

The police further announced that Whitmore had also confessed to the 1963 murder of Miss Wylie and Miss Hoffert.

And — for good measure — that Whitmore had also confessed to the killing nine days previously of Mrs. Minnie Edmonds in Brooklyn.

The public was assured by a top police official, "No question about it, he's the right guy."

The police spokesman detailed to newsmen Whitmore's supposed blow-by-blow account of exactly how he had murdered Miss Wylie and Miss Hoffert.

The officer concluded the gruesome account with these words: "Then he calmly washed his hands and left as he had entered."

As I re-read those words in recent days, I couldn't help but feel that they could well apply to the cops who beat that trumped-up confession out of young Whitmore. And they did beat it out of him!

Police Commissioner Murphy has even gone so far — far for him, that is — as to concede that there were certain "regrettable" aspects to the case and that he's investigating it.

But is that all that's involved? Was the Whitmore confession



simply a matter of what one police official described as an unfortunate case of an "overzealous" cop just trying to solve a crime?

Or was it perhaps, as District Attorney Hogan's office now contends, a case of the police department palming off a confession on them that they didn't know was false?

Or was it, in fact, a case of the police authorities, as a whole, acting in concert to railroad a man to the electric chair for a crime they knew he didn't commit? I contend that the available facts are sufficient to prove the last to be the case.

When Whitmore was arraigned in the attempted rape case, he immediately told his court-appointed lawyer that he was innocent and that the confessions he had made had been beaten out of him. The lawyer tried unsuccessfully to have the charges dismissed. Whitmore was arraigned and ordered committed to Bellevue for psychiatric observation.

He was held there for five long months. During this period, it is now revealed, he was, without his lawyer's knowledge, given so-called truth serums and, while under their influence, he still protested his innocence. These facts were concealed. He was adjudged sane and last November stood trial for the attempted assault on Mrs. Borrero.

Evidence Disputed

Apart from the confession, which was obtained at the same time as the one now admitted by the police to be false, he was convicted on the basis of a disputed piece of evidence about a jacket button found at the scene of the crime, plus being identified by the victim. During the trial, Whitmore's lawyer cast serious doubt on this identification, bringing out these facts:

1) The crime was committed on a dark, stormy night.

2) The victim had had her glasses knocked off at the beginning of the struggle.

3) The description of the assailant in the police alarm was of a taller and heavier built man than Whitmore.

Yet Whitmore was convicted and is still awaiting sentence on that charge.

Whitmore was fortunate in that his parents stuck by him, and that several lawyers became interested in his plight, as did a number of newspapers. And, perhaps most fortunately, the Brooklyn NAACP recognized the case for what it was — that of a Negro who had fallen victim to police prejudice — and the organization intervened in his behalf, also assigning a lawyer to the case.

The papers began to point to holes in the cases. It emerged that a key piece of evidence had to be discarded. When the police first announced Whitmore's confession, they let it be known that they had first linked him to the Wylie-Hoffert murder when they found a photo of Miss Wylie in his possession.

The photo turned out to be that of a girl in his hometown of Wildwood, N.J. Word also got out that there were several witnesses to the fact that Whitmore was at home in Wildwood on the day the Wylie-Hoffert murders were committed.

Finally, on Jan. 22, an unidentified source in District Attorney Hogan's office leaked information to the press that the Wylie-Hoffert case against Whitmore, was "full of holes."

Three days later, Prosecutor Koota went into court and obtained an April 5 trial date for Whitmore in the Edmonds killing. The next day, Manhattan police arrested Richard Robles and charged him with the killing of Miss Wylie and Miss Hoffert. The following day Hogan dropped the indictment against Whitmore and members of his staff blamed the police department for palming off a false confession on them.

Meanwhile, Mr. Koota, the Brooklyn prosecutor, is stubbornly continuing his pursuit of convictions. He has refused to drop the murder charges against Whitmore in the Edmonds case or seek a review of Whitmore's conviction in the attempted rape case. Koota justified this to an NAACP delegation on the grounds that each confession was a separate one, choosing to ignore the obvious fact that all three were obtained by the same cops in the same police station in the same 24-hour period!

But it is not only Koota's conduct that is outrageous. This whole case has stunk to high heaven from the very beginning.

It has been apparently forgotten in recent days but Whitmore's confession was branded as phony the very day it was announced.

Saw Flaws

Janice Wylie was the niece of author Philip Wylie. The day the cops announced Whitmore's confession, reporters went to Philip Wylie who told them without hesitation that there were obvious and serious flaws in the story attributed to Whitmore and, declared Wylie, "It sounds like a guy who got scared into a confession or wants to make a name for himself."

This aroused the curiosity of some newsmen who went back and put some more questions to the police. The reporters were assured by Deputy Police Commissioner Walter Arm: "This man came up with details that could have been known to no one but the police and the man who committed the crime."

But perhaps the deputy commissioner was also taken in? I doubt it. If you check the newspaper files of that period, you will find the police were already hedging on the question of the photo that they had claimed was of Miss Wylie. And it has now been revealed that they came to the conclusion that it was not a photo of her within two weeks after Whitmore's so-called confession last April.

Furthermore, Ray Williams, the Brooklyn NAACP lawyer who has been acting in Whitmore's behalf, has obtained sworn affidavits from two residents of Wildwood, New Jersey, that they had told the New York police some three or four months ago that they knew definitely that Whitmore was in Wildwood the day of the Wylie-Hoffert killings. Williams also has a sworn affidavit from another Wildwood resident who says she identified the so-called photo of Miss Wylie as one of a Wildwood friend and that she had informed the New York police of this a number of months ago.

Fortunately, George Whitmore has escaped one of the false charges brought against him — although the other two still hang over his head and it is not at all excluded, if there is not a sufficient public outcry, that he still may pay the price for crimes he did not commit. . .

AFRICA SPEAKS OUT

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NEW YORK

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SCEF 'Sedition' Case Argued in High Court

WASHINGTON, D.C. — If it is allowed to stand, Louisiana's law against subversive activity would be used to strike at all civil rights organizations trying to register Negroes to vote.

This was one of the main arguments made to the U.S. Supreme Court at a hearing of an appeal by the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF), a civil rights group based in New Orleans.

SCEF and two of its officers have asked the high court to declare the Louisiana law invalid. They charge that it is being used to stifle work for civil rights and racial integration, and that similar laws will be used elsewhere in the South if the Louisiana statute stands.

State's Argument

Attorneys for the State of Louisiana contended, however, that the law is directed only at subversive and Communist-front organizations.

James A. Dombrowski, SCEF executive director, and Benjamin E. Smith, treasurer of SCEF, are under indictment on a charge of failing to register as officers of a subversive organization. They were arrested after raids on their homes and offices in October, 1963.

Smith's law partner, Bruce Waltzer, is charged with failing to register as a member of the National Lawyers Guild, also described by the state as a Communist-front organization.

Attorneys for Louisiana were asked by Chief Justice Earl Warren for a definition of a Communist-front organization. They replied



James A. Dombrowski.

that it is one listed by the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC), Sen. James Eastland's Internal Security Subcommittee, the U.S. Attorney General, or the Subversive Activities Control Board.

Justice Byron White asked, "How would anybody know what it is? Would you know what it is?" Warren wondered, "How many Communists would you have to find to make it Communist-infiltrated?"

Briefs asking that the Louisiana law be struck down were filed by the NAACP Legal Defense & Educational Fund, the American Civil Liberties Union and the National Lawyers Guild.

Ky. Supreme Court Hears Appeal of 'Libel' Conviction

FRANKFORT, KY. — The case of a Negro leader in Louisiana may result in more free speech for jobless workers and their allies in Eastern Kentucky and the rest of Appalachia.

It depends on how the Kentucky Court of Appeals views the appeal of Stephen Ashton, a New York

Meeting at Columbia U Hears William Warde Analyze Existentialism

NEW YORK, Feb. 9 — Over one hundred Columbia University students turned out last night to hear William F. Warde speak on "A Philosophy for Rebels — Marxism or Existentialism?" The meeting on the university campus was sponsored by the Columbia Young Socialist Alliance.

On Feb. 5 Warde spoke on "Existentialism and Marxism" at the Militant Labor Forum in Boston before an audience of over 120 people, mostly students. The large turnout occurred despite snow and the fact that some of the major colleges were on vacation.

Warde, a contributor to *The Militant* and the *International Socialist Review*, is the author of *An Introduction to the Logic of Marxism*, *The Uneven and Combined Development of History* and other Marxist works. In both speeches Warde argued that the two philosophies could not be successfully synthesized.

The Columbia U. meeting was the first in a series of weekly talks being sponsored by the Columbia YSA. Ralph Levitt, one of the three student defendants in the Bloomington Case, will speak Feb. 15 on "A New Generation of Radicals."

student who went to Hazard, Ky., to work with unemployed miners.

The decision may be crucial for volunteers who are moving into Appalachia to help jobless and underpaid whites and Negroes obtain jobs or a guaranteed income.

Ashton was sentenced to six months in jail and fined \$3,000 on a charge of criminal libel after he wrote an essay critical of public officials and newspaper editors in Hazard.

Ephraim London, attorney for the American Civil Liberties Union, argued for reversal of Ashton's conviction at a hearing of his appeal before Kentucky's highest court.

London's argument was based mainly on the U.S. Supreme Court's recent rulings that it is difficult to libel a public official unless downright malice is proved.

Cited Precedent

London quoted for the Kentucky court a section from a ruling by the Supreme Court in the case of the Rev. Elton B. Cox. That minister had been charged with tending to cause a breach of the peace by leading a civil-rights march in Baton Rouge, La., in December, 1961. One element in the charge against Ashton was that his writings tended to upset the peace of the community.

Ashton's attorney quoted from the unanimous decision of the Supreme Court in which it upheld Cox's freedom to protest under the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

Delegations of Ashton sympathizers attended the court hearing. They were organized by the Appalachian Committee for Full Employment (ACFE), Hazard, and the Southern Conference Educational Fund (SCEF), a civil rights group based in New Orleans, La.

New Appeal Announced in Indiana Case

The defense in the case of the Bloomington students has announced that its next step will be to appeal the recent split decision of the Indiana Supreme Court upholding the Indiana Anti-Communism act. The first appeal will be to the Indiana Supreme Court to re-consider and, if that fails, the appeal will be taken to the federal courts.

In addition to the law's unconstitutionality, one of the grounds of appeal back to the Indiana Supreme Court is that in its opinion it did not mention the argument presented by the defense that the students were to be tried for something other than what they were charged with.

Tom Morgan, Jim Bingham and Ralph Levitt, students at Indiana University, were indicted in 1963 under the witch-hunt law. They were charged with attending two different meetings, on March 25, 1963 and May 2, 1963. But prosecutor Hoadley stated in a bill of particulars that he would try the three students not for any one meeting, but for their activities in the Fair Play for Cuba Committee and the Young Socialist Alliance over an extended period, which is not what they are charged with.

Right-Wingers Direct Fire at Antioch College

By Arthur Maglin

YELLOW SPRINGS, O. — There is an organized right-wing campaign to dry up the financial sources of Antioch College, the liberal school located here.

President James P. Dixon told a Jan. 26 college assembly: "It is now beginning to appear that there is a concerted letter-writing campaign to corporations saying that if Antioch is a recipient of any of their largess, the letter-writers would turn in their credit cards."

Antioch depends, as do most privately-operated colleges, to a large extent on contributions from corporations.

Dixon noted that the letters followed a common pattern. He also pointed out that "there was a repetitive quality" to the questions telephoned to him during his appearance on the Dayton radio show, "Conversation Piece." A number of the questions dealt with events which had taken place during the McCarthyite witch-hunt era. "People knew things about Antioch that it seemed impossible for them to know unless they were told," he said.

Denying any "paranoid fear" of conspiracy, Dixon pointed out: "There has been a change in the form of attack on liberalism. Present attacks are much more organized; much more skillfully executed."

In recent months Antioch has been publicly attacked by the American Legion, whose national convention called for a Congressional investigation of the college, as well as by the American Nazi Party and the Ku Klux Klan.

All these attacks appear to be traceable to anger over the civil rights activities organized by Antioch students. Perhaps another factor was a speech last year by President Dixon noting that while the college, since its founding in the last century, had been officially on the side of desegregation, he wished to make clear that it was now "official."

Antioch gives work-credits, under its work-study program, to students working for SNCC in Mississippi and other parts of the South.

Morton Sobell Transferred To Lewisburg, Pa., Prison

NEW YORK — Morton Sobell, who continues to appeal for release on the basis of his innocence on the conspiracy to commit espionage charge, on which he was condemned to 30 years in prison, has been transferred to Lewisburg Federal Penitentiary from the Prison Medical Center in Springfield, Missouri, his wife, Helen Sobell, disclosed today.

Mrs. Sobell learned that her husband has arrived at Lewisburg, Pa., on receipt of letters from him detailing his transfer. Sobell, who is now in his fifteenth year of imprisonment as a result of the Rosenberg-Sobell trial in 1951, was at the Springfield Medical Center for about a year and a half. He had been transferred there from the Federal Penitentiary at Atlanta, Ga., because of poor health, requiring hospitalization. Previously he had been incarcerated in Alcatraz for more than five years. World-wide appeals that there was no justification for confining him in that now defunct maximum-security prison was followed by his transfer to Atlanta.

Eases Travel Burden

"The transfer closer to home will ease the burden of travel that our family has borne for so many years," said Mrs. Sobell. "We hope this step means that we are a bit closer to the only goal we can accept in this disgraceful case — the long overdue complete freedom of my innocent husband."

Mrs. Sobell reported that more than 7,000 have signed a petition to President Johnson asking Sobell's release on the ground that he is an innocent man, unjustly



Morton Sobell

convicted. Sobell has charged that the testimony of a lone witness against him was perjured.

Among those who have signed the petition for a full pardon, led by Dr. Harold C. Urey, Dr. Linus Pauling, Martin Buber, Pablo Casals and Bertrand Russell, are: Rabbi Balfour Brickner of New York City, Harold A. Cranefield of Ann Arbor, Mich., Rev. Dr. Erwin A. Gaede of Ann Arbor, Mich., Dean Donald E. J. MacNamara of New York City, Reinhold Niebuhr of New York City, Prof. Malcolm Sharp of the University of Chicago Law School, Raphael Soyer of New York City and Rabbi Jacob J. Weinstein of Chicago.

Belgian Rulers Dole Out New Payoff To Tshombe for Services Rendered

By Dick Roberts

The Belgian government gave Congolese puppet-dictator Moise Tshombe its stamp of approval Feb. 7, concluding a week of secret sessions in Brussels. The agreement entails a transfer of what has been estimated as \$300 million worth of securities in U.S. and Belgian interests to Tshombe's Leopoldville government.

Through this maneuver — which is being advertised as a tremendous concession to the Congolese — the U.S. and Belgium hope to build up Tshombe's power and prestige in order to assure his victory in forthcoming Congo elections. Closer examination of the agreement, however, reveals that the value of these securities is only a small fraction of total foreign holdings in the Congo.

What is basically at stake is control of the giant Katanga corporation, *Union Minière*, which is jointly owned by Belgian and U.S. investors. *Union Minière* has annual sales of over \$200 million — including 10% of the world's copper output and 75% of the world's cobalt.

But the figure of \$200 million is misleadingly low because it does not cover the value of *Union Minière* sales of uranium which are kept secret. *Union Minière* produces 50% of the uranium in the West. Even such a well-trained puppet as Tshombe won't be permitted to get his hands into this prized cold-war supply.

Chicken Feed

Some idea of the real wealth of the Congo can be seen from the fact that the U.S. and Belgium have present investments valued over \$5 billion — nearly 20 times the amount doled out to Tshombe. The "concession" doesn't give the Congo government anywhere near a controlling interest in the jealously guarded mineral wealth.

L.A. Forum Hears Report on Congo By Correspondent

LOS ANGELES — The audience at the Feb. 5 Militant Labor Forum here heard a first-hand description of the Congo by Michael Crosswell, a newspaper correspondent stationed there in 1961 and 1962.

He traced the African country's exploitation, beginning with its personal ownership by King Leopold of Belgium. The symbol of that heritage is today's contrast between the luxurious European-style homes of the exploiters and the tin-and-tarpaper shacks of the Congolese.

National sovereignty, Crosswell said, has been a farce since the country's wealth has remained firmly in the hands of Belgian, U.S. and British interests. Because of this, the Congolese receive a bare subsistence living. Those who resist are described in the Western press as "Communist-agitated savages."

The speaker summarized Congolese feelings about whites with the famous African adage: "When the whites sent the missionaries, they had the Bibles and we had the land. Now we have the Bibles and they have the land."

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Monday, February 15, 1965

...Aggression in Vietnam

32 THE WALL STREET JOURNAL Wednesday, November 18, 1964

White Paper on Vietnam

U.S. Readies Data That Could Serve To Justify 'Escalating' War on Reds

By WILLIAM BEECHER

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — The Johnson Administration is preparing a bulky White Paper detailing ways in which the Red guerrillas of South Vietnam have been directed and supplied from outside. If it's made public, this document could serve to establish justification for extending the anti-Communist war to military targets in North Vietnam, Laos and possibly Cambodia.

The decision on whether or when to "escalate" warfare in Southeast Asia hasn't yet been made. But Governmental activity which one lofty participant calls "feverish" suggests the decision point is close at hand.

At the Pentagon, planners are crossing T's and dotting I's in five sets of contingency plans, any one or combination of which might be ripe for implementation.

KNEW THE SCORE. This item from the Nov. 18, 1964 Wall Street Journal, and reproduced in the Nov. 30, 1964 issue of The Militant, described in advance the pretext that would be used for further attacks on North Vietnam and Laos.

(Continued from Page 1) defenses and place explosive charges by hand under aircraft on the field and against the walls of buildings in the center of the camp. The alarm wasn't given until a U.S. sentry saw guerrillas fastening explosives on a barracks. None of the soldiers of the Saigon regime detailed to guard the base gave any sort of alarm.

A Feb. 7 AP dispatch from Pleiku reports that 13 of these hand-placed charges exploded — destroying several planes and killing the sentry who sounded the alarm — before the mortar barrage began. Then 60 mortar shells were fired. That was the whole attack. Eight U.S. soldiers were killed and over 100 wounded. All the guerrillas got away, fading through the barbed wire and miles of defenses without a single one being discovered.

The same dispatch reports that U.S. officers later found six imprints of American-made mortars in the middle of a hamlet 1,000 yards from the airstrip and well within the defenses around the camp. A U.S. officer is quoted as saying: "Any of the people in that hamlet over there could have warned us the Viet Cong was around. But they didn't warn us."

All reported evidence fails completely to support the official U.S. explanation that the Pleiku attack was staged from or depended upon North Vietnam. On the contrary, the evidence clearly indicates that it was a typical South Vietnamese guerrilla attack, involving local men known to and supported by the local population. They used U.S. weapons captured in South Vietnam from American troops or from the reluctant soldiers of the Saigon regime.

The success of the raid — like the success of the guerrilla war as a whole — was due to the simple fact that the population is friendly to the guerrillas and hostile to the American invaders.

Another fact that contradicts the official U.S. explanation for the bombing of North Vietnam is that

Your Help Is Needed

Funds are urgently needed for the court appeal in the Indiana student case. Send contributions to Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students, P.O. Box 213, New York, N.Y. 10003.

BELGIAN UNION LEADER SPEAKS OUT

Condemns Intervention in Congo

[On Jan. 15 the Brussels regional organizations of the teachers union and the gas-and-electric workers union sponsored a meeting in defense of democratic rights in Belgium and in solidarity with the Congolese masses against capitalism. Despite freezing weather and attempts (unsuccessful) of right-wingers to enter the hall and disrupt the meeting, it was very successful. Speeches were made in French and Flemish. Below are excerpts from the speech of Pierre Le Grève. At the end of the meeting the audience of 700 passed a resolution embodying the proposals listed in Le Grève's closing remarks.]

Let no one be surprised that labor unions are concerned over the situation in the Congo. A union shouldn't be an association of interests but a means of class struggle. Moreover, in the Congo affair, trade unionism has to defend democratic principles, threatened right here inside our own country, and take a stand against the policy of our government which is the defense of capitalism and of the monopolies in the Congo.

Blow to Democracy

Democracy was dealt a blow because they don't conduct such military operations without "conditioning" the civilian population. This requires the management of the news, secret preparations necessarily outside of the control of parliament. Parliament and the press are informed only afterwards, after the lying denials. All the propaganda has been from one side. The operation's humanitarian character literally could not be discussed . . .

A demonstration by the left was forbidden; in its place there was a demonstration by the extreme right whose provocation went to the point of an attack on the Algerian embassy.

Then there was the deportation of the Congolese students who dared to voice judgment on what was taking place in their own country. There were the pressures and the threats against Glinne, a member of parliament, for having revealed a "secret" document which damaged the justification of the official policy . . .

Let us now pose the question whether the Stanleyville operation was primarily humanitarian or military. It would seem that the landing of paratroopers behind the city's defenders at the moment of the main attack must have a strategic effect . . .

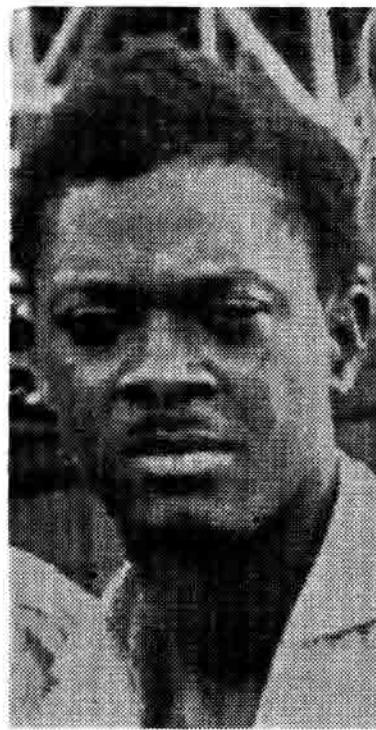
Coordinated Attack

The parachute attack was calculated to take place when the mechanized column of the ANC [Tshombe's army] would be in a position to attack the defenses of Stanleyville.

An article in *Soir*, entitled "Rebellion in the Congo," emphasized that the parachute attack had an advantage and a disadvantage. The disadvantage was that of requiring a long preparation with preliminary bombing, with successive drops, clearing of the terrain. But on the other hand, it brought a very mobile support to the mass of the troops at the moment of the attack. One might ask oneself — said *Soir* — if an attack by the ANC alone would not have allowed a more certain liberation with fewer victims!

In short, it seems indeed to be a disadvantage to the humanitarian project but an advantage for the strategic project . . .

Besides, that is the way it turned out at the time of the retaking of Kindu, and what is more, that is the way it turned out in all the cities which were retaken thereafter by the ANC, such as Buta, Aketi and Bunia. Furthermore, at the time of these operations, the ANC was staffed



Patrice Lumumba

by white officers and spearheaded by mercenaries.

The testimony of the refugees, whether printed in *Soir* or *Derrière Heure* or in *Peuple* and in the various agencies is all categorical: the massacre began only when the paratroopers and the rebels came into contact. Thus it was indeed a matter of a panic reaction.

Be that as it may, warnings were not lacking. There had been the cable from the Belgian ambassador in Leopoldville, back in July, which pointed out that the use of white officers, likewise mercenaries, could put the lives of the Europeans in danger. And on the very eve, the rebel radio and Mr. Gbenye's messages guaranteed the security of the hostages, on the condition that there would be no military intervention, bombardment or paratroop landings.

This raises the question of the hostages.

For the nationalist government a state of war exists between it and Belgium and the United States.

The internment of enemy na-

tions is a frequent practice in the history of wars! The internees become hostages only when their safety becomes an object of negotiation.

Had the internees of Stanleyville become an object of negotiation? Were the threats founded? That is another question. The death of some 30 hostages in Stanleyville seems to have been above all a tragedy of circumstances.

See Other Side

But one cannot discuss such a drama without putting himself in the place of men who, with makeshift means, are defending a cause that they consider just against an army which, thanks to foreign intervention, is utilizing the most advanced instruments of destruction: planes, rockets, napalm bombs.

In wars of this type, facing adversaries who can destroy entire villages from the sky, the rebel is going to bring forth his own bomb — and that is terrorist activity. When he has no machine gun, he kills with a knife. From the "civilized" point of view that is dirty and "savage." And when he doesn't have air power, he negotiates the withdrawal of hostile planes by taking hostages . . .

It is the basically neo-colonialist policy carried out by the Western governments in the Congo that is responsible for all of the blood spilled . . .

Blame for Lumumba

In the opinion of a large part of the world, we Belgians bore responsibility for the death of Lumumba. Anti-Belgian feelings have been aroused by the sight of the latest events in the Congo.

The absence of protest or of resistance to such acts in our Western countries, has called into question the revolutionary spirit of the Western proletariat.

We must react.

We must demand the immediate end of all political and military intervention in the Congo, the calling back of the deported Congolese students, and, for the future, we must resolve on a policy of an alliance of the workers' movement with the Congolese movements closest to our ideas on the class struggle.

Portuguese Students in Battle With Dictator Salazar's Cops

Street battling between demonstrating students and cops armed with submachine guns, tear-gas bombs and rifles, Feb. 2, culminated growing protests in Lisbon over the continuing arrests of student leaders. The Salazar regime has charged some 60 students with "communism" and "subversive activities." Portugal is a dictatorship and the Communist Party is outlawed.

Arrests of the students have been taking place for the last several months, and include many of the most prominent student leaders. The Feb. 2 riot broke out in front of the Lisbon Criminal Court for Political Affairs where the first four of the arrested students were being tried.

Demonstrators were distributing leaflets calling on the nation to "unite with the university in the struggle for a worthy and free country." It continued, "Students do not want disorder or agitation but do not accept violence and injustice . . . We demand that police tortures cease. We demand that constitutional laws be respected."

Although the demonstrators were passing out the leaflets peacefully, Salazar's cops started to beat them up. This violence sparked a battle which continued for several hours — with police using hoses and horses to break up groups of demonstrators.

The following week, the Portu-

A New Pamphlet

including

Khrushchev's Downfall

Statement by United Secretariat of Fourth International and

New Deepening of Sino-Soviet Rift?

By Joseph Hansen

25c

Pioneer Publishers
5 East Third St.
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In Commemoration of Negro History Week

A Gift Offer to Our Subscribers

Five Free Prints With 1-Year Sub

By Karolyn Kerry

This is the month in which Negro History Week is celebrated. Special meetings and observances will be devoted to telling some of the truth about the centuries-long struggles of black people.

In celebration of Negro History, *The Militant* is offering a special gift throughout February. The offer is for 8 x 10 prints of all four pictures on this page plus one of the martyred Congolese freedom fighter, Patrice Lumumba. Each picture has been carefully chosen and is of excellent quality.

Nat Turner. Here is a portrait of the leader of this country's most famous slave revolt. Turner's uprising in Virginia in 1831 was crushed by superior numbers and weapons. The insurgent slaves were ruthlessly massacred and Nat Turner was hanged. This drawing (photography had not yet been invented) is from the famous Schomburg Collection of Negro literature and art.

Sojourner Truth. She was born a slave in New York in 1797. Her five children were taken from her and sold. To regain a five-year-old son illegally taken from her and sent to Alabama, she engaged in a heroic and successful court battle. In the 1840s and 50s she became famous on the platforms of the anti-slavery and women's rights movement. Her originality of thought and expression and her unique personality made her one of the most remarkable figures in U.S. history.

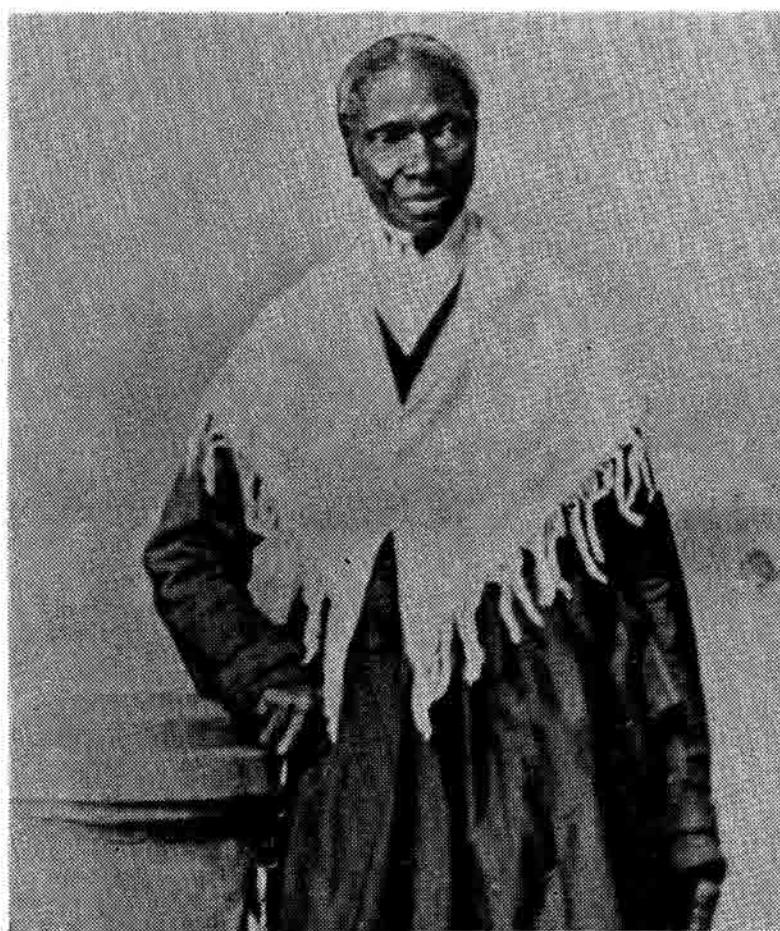
Frederick Douglass. The photograph was made before the Civil War. By then Douglass was already internationally famous as one of the most powerful orators and writers of the anti-slavery movement. Audiences were astounded that a man of such eloquence, brilliance and wit was a self-educated, runaway slave. Douglass not only gave irrefutable personal testimony about slavery but was a living example of the potentialities of the black man. Inside the Abolitionist movement he claimed for the Negro people a role of leadership and decision-making.

Harriet Tubman. As a young woman she was a field hand and developed the great strength which later served her so well. Escaping in 1849, she soon became the most famous conductor on the Underground Railway, the slaves' escape route. She earned the title "Moses" of her people by going South time and again, leading more than 300 slaves to freedom.

Patrice Lumumba. Martyred leader of the Congolese freedom movement, he was murdered by U.S.-Belgian puppets seeking to keep the Congo's wealth under imperialist control.

How can you obtain these five pictures? Simply send in a one-year subscription to *The Militant* and the five prints will be sent to you. It can be a new subscription, a renewal of your present subscription or a gift subscription. If your present subscription hasn't expired yet, send in a one-year renewal and a year will be added to the remained of your present subscription period.

Remember, this offer is good only during the month of February. Mail in your subscription today and get your five free Negro History pictures by return mail.



Sojourner Truth



Frederick Douglass



Nat Turner



Harriet Tubman

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A JAPANESE VIEWPOINT

Medal for Gen. LeMay Assailed

When the government of conservative Premier Eisaku Sato awarded Japan's highest decoration for a foreigner to General Curtis LeMay on Dec. 7, it stirred some controversy because LeMay had played a role in the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

The following article, which appeared in Nihon Dokusho Shinbun, an independent cultural and political weekly of left-liberal tendency, contrasts the honor bestowed on LeMay to the cold indifference and discrimination meted out to sufferers from the atomic bombings.

The translator informs us that this was one of the few nationwide Japanese papers with national circulation even to comment on the scandalous award to LeMay. (LeMay, incidentally, was directly responsible for the fire-bombing of civilian sections of Tokyo, also in 1945, in which even more non-combatants were killed than in the atom-bombings.)

The U.S. press played the story of LeMay's medal in a low key, as apparently did the Japanese press. All the more noteworthy then is this account of the aftereffects of America's monstrous crime, which no awarding of medals can efface.

* * *

By Kunio Yanagida

The Sato cabinet at its meeting of Dec. 4 resolved to award Japan's "First Class Order of Merit of the Grand Cordon of the Rising Sun" to U.S. Air Force Chief of Staff Curtis LeMay.

Who is LeMay? According to Minoru Genda, former chief of staff of Japan's Air Self-Defense Forces and member of the Diet [parliament], General LeMay is the man who helped develop the Air Self-Defense Forces and thus supposedly contributed to the maintenance of peace in the Far East.

But LeMay is also the man who,

as chief of staff of the U.S. Strategic Air Forces with headquarters at the 21st Bomber Command at Guam, gave the "go-ahead" order for the dropping of atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August 1945. He is one of the big murderers.

And now the Japanese government is giving him its highest honor, paid for with taxes. The reader perhaps recalls the well-known saying: "Kill one, and you are a murderer; but kill a million and you are a hero." The government has given life to this saying before our very eyes . . .

But how has the government treated those injured by the A-bombs? The answer can best be seen in the Motomachi district in Hiroshima.

Barrack Homes

There are over 1,000 barracks along the Otha River bank, three-minutes walking distance from the bustling center of the city. [These are tiny, crude shelters constructed end-to-end in long rows by the impoverished A-bomb survivors on a strip of city-owned land by the river.] The barracks are jammed into an area only some 1,300 yards long and from two to 40 yards back from the river. In each "room" (the largest being 12 sq. yds., the smallest only two) are crowded whole families, not only parents and children, but every kind of relative as well.

Some barracks are built on top of others. And there are dogs everywhere. The people who live here survive on rag-picking, sporadic public-works jobs, and welfare payments. At least half of them are bomb victims.

According to the January 1964 data of the Labor Administration Department of the Ministry of Welfare, the number of those from Motomachi on "make-work" projects was 608 and most lived in these barracks. According to the data of the welfare office, 253

families (752 persons) in the district were on welfare, and most were survivors of the A-blast.

Both the national and city governments call the barracks "illegal structures" and their inhabitants "illegal occupants" and plan to evict them forcibly . . .

The victims are classified in categories from "special" to "fourth class." The "special" class is made up of those who were within a radius of two kilometers of the atomic blast. Those in the "special" class in Hiroshima alone number 52,675.

The "first class" includes those who were in a radius beyond two kilometers. The "second," those who entered the two-kilometer radius within two weeks after the blast. The "third class" is made up of those who were offshore in ships. And the "fourth" is of those who were in their mothers' bodies.

The total of survivors in Hiroshima is 163,624. The number of dead grows year after year at the Hiroshima Atomic Bomb Hospital. Most of the cases are anemia (including leukemia). The patients struggle with the decreasing physical strength or total feebleness caused by radiation sickness. And the government has left them to carry on this unseen struggle on their own and driven them down into poverty.

In Hiroshima, nearly half (43 per cent) of those on "make-work" relief are survivors. [Many are too ill to work, and even if they can, the number of "relief jobs" is small — Tr.] Over one fourth, or 27 per cent of families on welfare are survivors. They live on only 6,400 yen per person per month [about \$18, whereas a middle-class business man averages about 30,000 yen] . . .

Mr. A., who has lived in Motomachi since 1945, does not even know the word "leukemia." He told us that his dog is his only amusement. Although he knows



YANKEE GO HOME. One of countless mass demonstrations in Japan against the bomb and against U.S. program to remilitarize country.

that it is because of the A-bomb that he has lost his hair and that he always feels dull, his knowing this doesn't help him get enough to eat.

He said he had long since given up being angry but that even at the annual neighborhood street festival he sensed the discrimination against him. He did not say whether people discriminated because of his poverty or if he became poor because he was discriminated against. After this conversation, he went to work with his old dog. Who is responsible for this discrimination?

Both Guilty

We can't cheat history. It is undeniably true that, on the one hand, Japan ignited the flames of war because of the greed of its monopolies and that, on the other, the U.S. in violation of international conventions massacred a great number of non-combatants. Now the government treats those who were victims of war as if they were criminals.

The treatment of survivors at the A-Bomb Relief Department in Hiroshima is terrible. [Persons applying for relief must list "sponsors" who will be responsible for them and can testify that they were indeed A-bomb victims — Tr.] The department is far more concerned with the sponsor's status, how much he can pay, than with the condition of the patient as filled in on his application form.

Survivors often have to renew their applications, and if they fail to do so even once, they can no

longer qualify for relief. Even if they do get a "survivor's passbook," that qualifies them for only 2,000 yen (\$5) a month maximum medical relief.

The welfare center, which is supposed to provide for their health-care needs and give vocational guidance, says: "We are not allotted enough money. We have only 7,000-8,000 yen to give for nutritive medicine in one month and only 6,000 for bedclothes for patients going into a hospital. Thus, at most, we can give only 600-1,000 to each case, even if one is terribly poor. So in two years, we have only been able to help 100 people."

In April 1955, five survivors sued the state for compensation for all A-bomb victims. The suit, however, has not yet been decided. The government dodges responsibility, saying that there is no precedent whereby a defeated nation can demand compensation from the victor, and that it is too abstract to blame the government itself, since the legal concept of responsibility for the dropping of A-bombs has not been established in international law.

The mass slaughter of non-combatants has been continuing since World War II, as may be seen in Korea, Vietnam, and Africa. The Japanese state, in discriminating against the victims and penalizing them politically and socially, has shown that it indirectly supports such mass slaughter.

Now the state has shown that it directly supports the slaughter — by awarding this medal to Gen. LeMay.

Captured Cuban Exiles Reveal Aid by Puerto Rico Governor

Gutierrez Menoyo, the leader of the Cuban counter-revolutionaries who were captured in late January, appeared on Cuban radio and television Feb. 2. Gutierrez told how his group had been in Puerto Rico before their ill-fated landing in Cuba, and that they had received help from former Puerto Rican Governor, Luis Munoz Marin.

One of Gutierrez' followers, who appeared on the same program, told how he had been trained by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency. The anti-Castro crew explained that they had sailed from Puerto Rico to the Dominican Republic whence they embarked for the sabotage mission in Cuba.

Met Peasants

They related that after landing they had been fed by Cuban peasants, who then reported them to the Cuban army.

Another sabotage attempt took place Feb. 3. The Cuban government said that a gunboat had shelled an installation of oil tanks near Trinidad, in Las Villas Prov-

ince, but that there was little damage.

Meanwhile two more counter-revolutionary infiltrators, who confessed to being from a CIA base in Nicaragua, were captured Feb. 6. They landed with arms and radio equipment, according to a Cuban dispatch.

Not yet as ill-fated as their brother killers-for-hire, some Cuban counter-revolutionaries recently back from the Congo explain that the Congo is a good training ground for future attacks on Cuba. For this reason, they say, future saboteurs for Cuba are presently being recruited for basic training in Tshombe's white mercenary forces.

Signed up at a recruiting station in Miami, the Cuban mercenaries are paid a minimum of \$600 per month and may receive up to \$1,500. This does not include what they take in looting Congolese cities. A "fringe benefit" — \$60,000 life insurance — was mentioned as added incentive to the Congo training program.

World Events

Strikes Cripple Bermuda

Workers in industries throughout Bermuda have stopped work in sympathy with electrical workers' striking for union recognition at the Bermuda Electric Light Company. The strike has caused violent clashes. When police tried to herd scabs through the picket line Feb. 2, the pickets defended their line, driving off the cops and sending nine to the hospital. The government, claiming that sympathy stoppages on the docks have threatened the island's food supply, risked more violence by sending the army in to unload ships.

Class War in Paradise

Another "tourist paradise" has been hit by labor struggles recently. Far-off Tahiti, in the South Pacific, proves not to be

exempt from the laws of modern capitalism which drive workers to defend their living conditions. On Dec. 29 the whole island was shut down in a protest against income-tax increases. Since then, three big strikes have broken out, most recently a strike in late January by 1,500 telephone, telegraph, and postal workers.

Indian Socialists Split

A split has occurred in India's United Socialist Party (USP), which was formed only last June. The USP was a merger of the former Socialist Party led by Ram Manohar Lohia, a left-wing social-democrat and nationalist, and the Praja Socialist Party, a moderate, anti-Communist affiliate of the Second International. The split occurred Jan. 31 when 12 members — all Praja socialists — quit the USP's 25-man national committee and walked out of its national conference.

The only reason reported for the walkout was a charge of a "cult of personality" against Lohia. No political differences were reported. Lohia's Socialist Party had led a big strike in Bombay in the teeth of the witch-hunt in 1963, when the Congress Party rulers had used the Chinese-Indian border dispute to declare a "national emergency." Recently the USP led mass raids on private grain stores to protest severe food shortages and price speculation.

Why They Won't Fly

A dispatch highly critical of the South Vietnamese air force appeared in the Feb. 3 New York *World-Telegram*. Its author, Jim

Lucas, complained that Vietnamese pilots "almost daily" invent reasons for not flying missions, and that when they do fly, they won't "fly low enough for bombs and rockets to be effective." U.S. pilots have to do the dirty work, says Lucas. "Usually, one or two Vietnamese-piloted planes are involved to make things look right." Sounds like the Vietnamese pilots are showing good sense, not cowardice. Why should they risk their lives in a war they don't want, a war of Washington's creation? This attitude probably explains why, in the midst of the Feb. 7 air strikes on North Vietnam, a South Vietnamese pilot landed his fighter-bomber in Cambodia and asked for asylum. He may have heard the U.S. wanted some South Vietnamese planes to participate in those raids — over real anti-aircraft fire — "to make things look right."

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Back in Print

Uneven and Combined Development In History

By William F. Warde

60c

Pioneer Publishers
5 East Third St.
New York, N.Y. 10003

Letters From Our Readers

[This column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.]

Welfare Strike Gains

New York, N.Y.

Some 7,000 city welfare workers can go back to work with the taste of victory in their mouths. A blow has been struck in behalf of the right of city employees

to strike. Condon-Wadlin is not only being challenged in the courts, it has had the life sapped from it by 28 days of winter picketing.

This strike also has consequences reaching beyond its immediate gains. The prospects for organization both among government employees and white-collar workers have been given a boost. Knowledge of strike tactics and methods of confronting the government as a boss have been gained, and many lessons learned about friends and enemies.

I'm sure many were surprised at the press' sudden concern for our city's poverty-stricken. Any who had illusions must have learned about the "impartial" *Times* and the "liberal" *Post*. Now that the myths of "absolute truth" and "all the news that's fit to print" have been exposed, perhaps news about Cuba, humanitarianism in the Congo and wars on poverty will receive a new look.

But perhaps the most important aspects of the welfare strike were the political ones, and we have yet to see exactly what was learned on this score. It's obvious that "battling" Bob Wagner's friend-of-labor image didn't stand up too well. His role as a strikebreaker was clear and it was also clear from reports of picket line chants that the strikers understood this.

Yet what's to be done? How many still hope for a "good guy" liberal replacement to be put up next November by either party? How many saw that it isn't just because Wagner is nasty that Condon-Wadlin "had to be enforced?" Is it a single individual or an entire city administration that is trapped by its own laws when it comes to strikers, but can change laws in a single afternoon in the case of a stall-in?

If welfare workers and recipients alike, as well as the rest of us New Yorkers, are ever going to get consistent representation from our city government, we must stop supporting candidates over whom we hold no control the day after election. We must begin the construction of a party whose power base is among the working people, the majority, and is not responsible to landlords, employers, and banks.

Alan Davis

Aid to Jobless

New York, N.Y.

My praise to Johnson; I think he is trying to fight unemployment. On Jan. 29, 9 a.m., Paul Harvey reported that in order to reduce the budget by reducing federal manpower, the budget department had to hire 500 men to make a survey.

I wonder if the Klan will have this problem? The *Saturday Evening Post* reported revival of the Klan in West Virginia, Indiana, Minnesota, Iowa, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin and California.

The Post goes on to happily report that there are fewer than ten thousand dues-paying members of the Klan in the South. What could the Socialist Workers Party do with ten thousand members?

J.H.

SLP Paper Backs a Strike

New York, N.Y.

The Feb. 6 issue of the *Weekly People*, the paper of the Socialist Labor Party, in a front-page story, denounces the Condon-Wadlin Act as the despotic, anti-labor law that it is. The paper points out that its use against the striking Wel-

fare workers in New York City should be opposed by all of the working people.

Of course, *The Militant*, a number of large trade unions, and other sources have denounced this slave-labor law too, and for many of the same reasons. But, this stand is unusual coming from the SLP which has long had a hands-off attitude towards strikes conducted by the American labor movement. Its reason has always been that the unions today are reformist, non-revolutionary, even "company" unions. This attitude has taken them outside the main arena of working class action for decades.

If the SLP and the editors of the *Weekly People* think through their conclusions on the Welfare strike and the Condon-Wadlin Act, they'll come a lot closer to reality: that, although they're not enough in themselves and their top leadership is rotten to the core, the trade unions defend the interests of working people and must be supported against any attack by the employers.

R.L.

Dum-Dum Bullets?

North Bend, Ore.

The *Mechanix Illustrated* carried an article about a new weapon called the SPIW (Special Purpose Individual Weapon) which should receive some attention in *The Militant*.

The SPIW shoots small darts called flechettes. The article says the "flechette flies true until it strikes something soft like flesh.

Then it tumbles end-over-end, producing lethal gash wounds. Tracers permit the gunner to see where he's firing and to correct his aim up to 1,000 yards."

I would say these flechettes would come under the heading of dum-dum bullets, and it is significant they are intended for use in guerrilla wars where our brass do not consider the Geneva Convention.

M.S.

Hears Malcolm X on TV

Chicago, Ill.

Last night I saw Malcolm X on a local TV program called Kup's show. It is a symposium-type program, and the topic for the evening was Dr. Albert Schweitzer's life and contributions. Schweitzer's daughter, a professor, an actor and Malcolm X participated in the discussion.

It was evident that the white liberal commentator, Kup, had invited Malcolm X to the show in hopes that Malcolm would expound a vehement all-whites-are-devils line. But Malcolm completely outflanked Kup's attempts to stereotype him as a sectarian, and, I think, dispelled misconceptions that many whites have of him.

He commended the scientific and humane activities of white philanthropists like Schweitzer, and commended their motives, but also pointed out their shortcomings, and their paternalistic and condescending attitudes. He also pointed out the neo-colonialist function of such penetration into Africa.

The clear-cut contradiction of our government's attitude is illustrated, Malcolm said, by our government's sending of Peace Corps into the African nations advocating brotherhood and understanding, while at the same time maintaining a rigid discriminatory and oppressive rule over Negroes here in America. The African nations are beginning to understand this contradiction, and to take their destiny into their own hands.

Malcolm X was able to utilize this opportunity to express his views on whites as allies, religion, and his differences with Elijah Muhammad and the Black Muslims. Kup, the commentator, tried to box Malcolm in and to elicit what he thought would be conditioned responses from a "black nationalist," but Malcolm was never taken in by his maneuvers or antagonistic questions, but spelled out in clear terms his uncompromising position on racist America, and his unconditional support for his people's struggle for human dignity here and in Africa.

My only criticism of how he handled himself would be that I don't believe it to be tactically correct for him to elaborate his differences with Elijah Muhammad before this mass TV audience. The Black Muslims, Malcolm X are both under attack by this racist government, and I think he should first present a united defense.

All in all, Malcolm did an exceptionally good job, and I think many people learned a great deal.

Jack Marsh

It Was Reported in the Press

It's Done Nicely By Him Too — Waxing enthusiastic in a Feb. 3 address to the United States Chamber of Commerce, Vice President Hubert Humphrey declared: "You people are more generous than any government. You are more compassionate than any welfare worker. This is the most compassionate, most kindly, most economically just society on the face of the earth."

New Banking Trend? — Congressional probbers have heard charges that criminal elements are gaining control of banks. We had thought they had succeeded in doing so a long time ago.

Presidential Bug — Some Washington newsmen assigned to the White House are convinced that President Johnson has his press secretary's office wired for sound. They note that Johnson seems to have instant knowledge of detailed exchanges between Press Secretary George Reedy and reporters. One day recently, for example, Reedy was asked if the president, suffering from a cold, would put in an appearance at his office. He said no and suddenly a light blinked on his telephone. He mumbled into the phone and then told newsmen the president would be at his office. Reedy says the bugging charges are "silly." One newsmen opined, "It could be mental telepathy."

Dept. of Clarification — Last week we carried a report from the office of New York State Attorney General Louis Lefkowitz that frauds against consumers reached a record high in New York last year, with more than 100,000 complaints processed by state authorities. Mr. Lefkowitz has

given further thought to the question and followed up with a second news release which says this doesn't necessarily mean that business frauds are on the increase, but merely that the consumers are becoming more alert. Mr. Lefkowitz should give some thought to the implications of this. If consumers continue to develop such alertness, they may reach the point of becoming socialists.

Brain-Washing Statistics — An outfit which calls itself the Institute for American Strategy says it made a survey which showed that 49 of the 50 states now have programs which either require or encourage high-school courses on the "menace" of communism. The holdout is Wyoming.

In Hot Water — A Los Angeles Catholic priest who has publicly criticized his superiors' failure to protest social injustice has suffered a second reprimand. Last June, Rev. William H. DuBay called on the Pope to remove his superior, Cardinal McIntyre, for failure to take a stand against Jim Crow. Shortly afterward he was transferred from a predominantly Negro parish to a predominantly

white one. Now he has been transferred again after writing a letter to a Catholic publication saying: "In issues of welfare planning, city planning, public education and social reform, the voice of the [Los Angeles] church is rarely heard except when property rights are involved."

Tender-Hearted Judges — After an 18-month study, the Community Service Society of New York found out what most of the city's tenants already knew—that judges are too lenient with landlords who violate the city's housing code. The community welfare organization suggested that fines levied were generally too low. It noted that although jail sentences are possible, they are rarely given. Fines, which averaged \$30.82 in Manhattan Housing Court in 1963, the society said, "are far less than the cost of compliance and usually far less than the amount of rent collected during the continuation of the violation."

Our Affluent Society — Fifteen million American children — one fourth of all those in the nation — live in poverty, according to a recent government estimate.

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Thought for the Week

"Mrs. [Lyndon] Johnson told how impressed she had been on a visit to Eastport, Me., where Girl Scouts had planted marigolds to brighten the bleak atmosphere of closed store fronts in their town, which was beset by unemployment. 'What a difference a Girl Scout troop can make,' she said." — From a Feb. 6 AP dispatch.

3,400 Jailed, But No Halt To Selma Rights Drive

By Barry Sheppard

The voter-registration drive kicked off by John Lewis, chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, Jan. 17 in Selma, Ala., continues to press forward despite the stalling tactics of registration officials and the courts, and the brutality of Sheriff Clark. Meanwhile, Rev. Martin Luther King, released from jail in Selma, has gone to Montgomery to begin a registration drive there.

On Feb. 8, Negroes in Selma again demanded to be registered at the Dallas County courthouse, and when officials offered to take their names instead of registering them, the Negroes protested. As Southern Christian Leadership Conference representative, Rev. James Bevel, left the courthouse, Sheriff Clark beat him with a billy club. A deputy singled out SNCC staff member Ivanhoe Donaldson from the line of Negroes waiting to register and used his club on him.

Many Arrested

By the end of the day, Clark had arrested 50 more persons, bringing the total arrests to 3,400 since Jan. 17. The struggle has spread to the nearby town of Marion where hundreds of arrests have been made. Marion demonstrators report that 300 men were jammed into one cell and had to stand up all night. There was nothing in the cell but wet concrete floors, no heat and one toilet. Many women demonstrators caught colds from being forced to sleep on cold concrete floors in their cells.

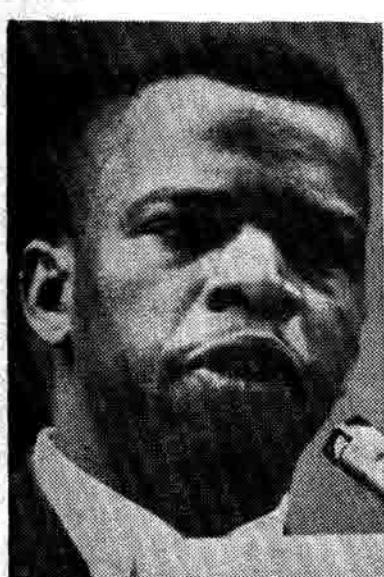
On Feb. 4 Malcolm X appeared in Selma. He held a press conference and spoke to a meeting of the demonstrators, who are mostly school children, in the church used as a rallying center. The New York *Herald-Tribune* reported this meeting as follows:

"His speech was long and eloquent and it clearly disturbed the people running the registration drive. Malcolm X did not explicitly challenge Dr. King's non-violence doctrine but he did say, 'The white people should thank God that Dr. King is telling these people to be loving and non-violent, that he is holding these people in check.'

"The young crowd cheered repeatedly, and for hours afterward other speakers tried to simmer off the steam that Malcolm had generated."

Law Ineffective

The so-called Civil Rights Act of 1964 was intended to get the Negroes off the streets and into the courts. But the voting-rights section of that law is of so little use in actually enabling Negroes to register, that they are again demonstrating in the streets to secure their rights as citizens.



John Lewis



Rev. M. L. King

Now Johnson has come up with a new scheme to deflect the struggle while at the same time continuing his pose as a "friend of the Negro." He now proposes — new legislation to guarantee the right to vote! This would be good for another two-year delay at least. If it's to be a constitutional amendment, as some in the administration suggest, then it would take at least four years, and with no certainty that the states would ratify it.

The delaying tactic of the Johnson administration was pin-pointed in another instance by *I.F. Stone's Weekly* of Feb. 8. Stone caught the administration red-handed in deferring a Supreme Court ruling against the constitutionality of Mississippi's voting law, under which only five per cent of eligible Negroes have been able to register. The administration asked the high court not to rule on the law but instead, to send it back down to a three-judge federal court (with two from Mississippi). This will delay the test by about two years.

Constitutional Right

Actually, no constitutional amendment is needed. The Fifteenth Amendment guarantees the right to vote to all Americans. To secure this right everywhere in the country is the sworn duty of the federal government, and it is within its power to do so. While it can manufacture excuses to violate the territory of North Vietnam with aircraft and bombs, it can't find sufficient justification to enforce the U.S. Constitution within the borders of Alabama.

Selma and Marion are in the "black belt," where over 50 per cent of the population is Negro. In Dallas County, of which Selma is the seat, 57 per cent of the population is Negro, but only 0.9 per cent are registered to vote.

Alabama "black-belt" counties are among the poorest in the country. In 1960, 85 per cent of the Negro families there made less than \$3,000, compared to 21 per cent under \$3,000 for all families in the U.S.

SNCC began to work in Selma for voter registration in February, 1963. From that time right up to the present, voter-registration workers have faced harassment and violent attacks. Many arrests and beatings, including all of the recent ones, have been witnessed by federal agents from their office across the street from the Dallas County courthouse where Negroes are trying to register. Although federal law makes it a crime to interfere with the right to vote, no federal agents have stopped the arrests and beatings going on before their eyes.

Newark Cops Harass Student-Organized Movement

Rent-Strike Leader Faces Jail

NEWARK, New Jersey — A rent-strike leader active in the Newark Community Union Project (NCUP) was convicted Feb. 3 on trumped-up charges of assaulting her landlord. The conviction was the latest in a long series of harassments of the project since it was begun last summer as part of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) Economic Research and Action Projects.

The NCUP is a grass-roots union of tenants and home owners in the Clinton Hill neighborhood here which has developed into an active autonomous community organization which is now only assisted by SDS staff members. The group has campaigned for the elimination of slum conditions and has opposed any "improvement" scheme that forces up rents and makes people move out.

The harassment began last July when leaflets were handed out in the neighborhood charging that NCUP was trying to destroy local harmony. In August, Newark's Ralph Zinn, acting director of the city's Human Relations Board, together with the South Ward Councilman, Lee Bernstein, charged in an official report that the group was "irresponsible" and planned to incite a riot.

On Oct. 14, SDS staff member Tom Hayden was arrested on charges of assaulting a landlord, only minutes after he had been refused the right to press the same charge against the landlord. Hayden's case has been before the grand jury for an unusual length of time. There is still no word on whether an indictment is forthcoming.

Forced to Move

In October the organization was asked to move from its headquarters by landlord Gordon Hyde, who said "pressures" had been placed on him. As soon as the group rented new quarters at 247 Peshine Ave., their new landlord reported pressures were being placed on him in the form of extra city inspectors and repair bills. In mid-December, a patrolman (badge #295) told Hayden and another worker, Junior Tatum, that they would be arrested for disorderly conduct if they passed out leaflets at Newark's South Side High School.

The arrest of the rent-strike



SDS photo

ROUGH TREATMENT. Mrs. Ida Brown, Newark rent-strike leader, being dragged to patrol car by cop after she was arrested on charges of "assaulting" landlord who forced her family out of apartment.

leader, Mrs. Ida Brown, a Negro mother of five, occurred Jan. 6. Mrs. Brown had gone on a rent-strike in August because of rats, roaches, plumbing that belched garbage, and high rents in her building. In a court hearing that same month she won the right to pay the rent to the court pending repairs. At that time Mayor Hugh J. Addonizio was personally informed through an official of 100 building code violations in the building in which Mrs. Brown lived.

The mayor promised that the city would prosecute the slumlords and would make the machinery of the city government available to the tenants for their aid and protection. But so far, no help has been given despite constant pleas.

On Dec. 30, Mrs. Brown's landlord, Ray Shustak, forced her and

her children (the baby had a 103-degree fever at the time) out of the apartment and padlocked the door with her possessions inside. Mrs. Brown found temporary housing in an apartment upstairs.

On Jan. 7, Shustak appeared with two detectives and she was placed under arrest. In the process, one of the detectives pushed her to the floor, and they argued about where the babies should go until Mrs. Brown arranged to leave them with a friend. With one detective behind and one in front of her, Mrs. Brown was pushed to the stairway. The detective behind pushed her and she fell on the other cop, Detective Dinerstein, and the two of them fell down the stairs. The men dragged Mrs. Brown the rest of the way to the police car and took her to jail where she was held in \$1,000 bail. People in the community raised the bail bond fee and she was released. She faced charges of assault on the landlord, assault on Detective Dinerstein, and resisting arrest.

Harassment Continued

On Feb. 3, Mrs. Brown was convicted on the charge of assault on the landlord. Sentencing was set for March 3. The charge of assault on the detective has gone to the grand jury for a possible indictment which could lead to a three-to-five year prison sentence. The resisting arrest charge was dropped. When the date for sentencing was announced, the judge declared that the sentence would be stiffer if Mrs. Brown "or her so-called friends" did anything to bring pressure on the court.

Meanwhile, the harassment of NCUP has continued in other ways. In the last two weeks persons described as "respectable" have approached the landlord of the house where several SDS staff members live and have told him he is putting up "Communists" and asked him to make the SDS people move. Several of the SDS staff members involved are veterans of Southern civil-rights struggles led by SNCC. On Jan. 23, counterfeits of the regular NCUP newsletters were mailed to the 500 names on the NCUP list. These bogus newsletters contained provocative and malicious material.

Galamison Presses Fight

New York School Boycott Spreads

By Tom Leonard

NEW YORK, Feb. 9 — Despite continuing legal harassment of its leaders, a boycott against inferior and segregated education in this city spread to 17 schools last week when 6,000 of 20,000 enrolled pupils either failed to attend or went to neighborhood Freedom Schools set up by organizations supporting the boycott.

The original aim of the City-wide Committee for Integrated Schools, which initiated the boycott, was limited to concentrating on 15 of the worst schools in the city. These are among the "600" schools (so-called from New York's school-numbering system) for supposedly problem students and "troublemakers."

Boycott leaders are bitter in their condemnation of these "600" schools for their poor textbooks, inadequate facilities, lack of curriculum, untrained teachers and improper screening of pupils. More than 90 per cent of the students in the original 15 boycotted schools are Negro or Puerto Rican.

The sharp rise in the effectiveness of the boycott followed the conviction of its leader, Rev. Milton Galamison, on the flimsy

charge of conspiring to violate the compulsory education law.

Galamison was given a suspended sentence of a \$250 fine or ten days in the workhouse, or both. After his conviction, he again appeared on a picketline and Judge Charles E. Ramsgate ordered his arrest for violating the conditions of the suspended sentence. First, however, Ramsgate had to reduce the sentence since it exceeded the legal maximum for the offense. This in itself is a testimony to the overzealous court's harassment of the boycott.

Victory Won

Meanwhile, boycott leaders won a partial victory when the State Supreme Court was forced to delay a hearing on an injunction against the boycott pending an appeal to the federal courts. The appeal is based on charges of violations of the Civil Rights Act.

James B. Donovan, president of the Board of Education, was reportedly so frustrated by the decision that he "stormed out of the courtroom, veins bulging on his neck and forehead."

Donovan would do far better to channel his anger into a construc-

tive assault on the scandalous conditions in New York's schools, particularly the "600" schools.

Malcolm X Will Present Program at Harlem Rally

NEW YORK — Malcolm X announced that at a rally Monday, Feb. 15, he will unveil a program "designed to galvanize the black masses of Harlem to become the instruments of their own liberation."

The fiery black nationalist leader stated that his group, the Organization of Afro-American Unity, will offer new and unique solutions for "arresting the economic, social and political gangrene that is daily administered to the black community by rent-gouging landlords, thieving merchants, and downtown politicians." Warning that frustrations in the ghetto could lead to an explosion, he asserted that only a program such as that to be disclosed by the OAAU "can serve as an alternative to violence and bloodshed."

The rally will be held at Audubon Ballroom, 166th St. and Broadway, 8 p.m. Feb. 15.